

# **SECOND REPORT**

**Misrepresentation to Undesirable Intending  
Immigrants from the British  
Isles to Canada**

by

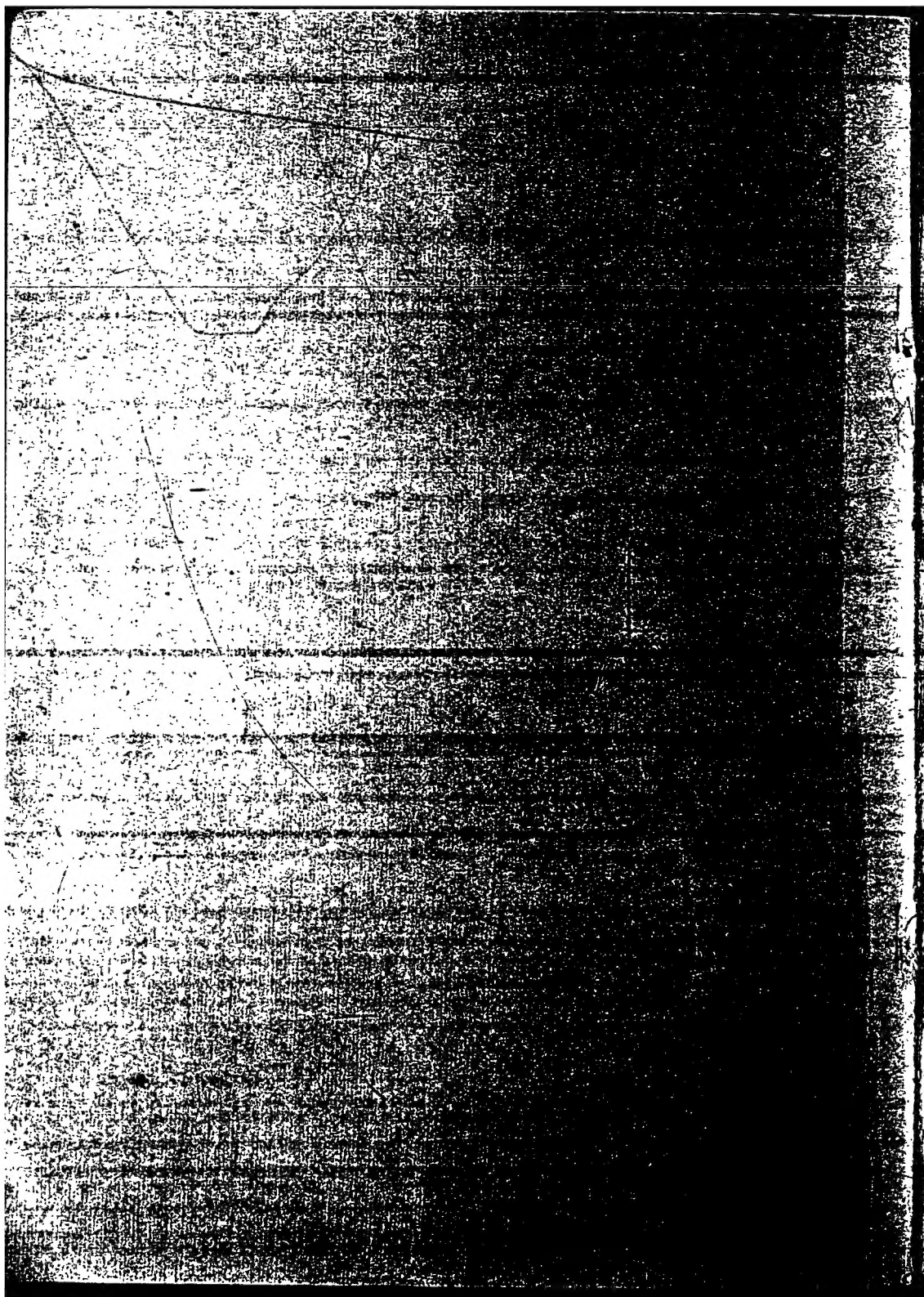
**W. R. TROTTER, British Agent**



**City of Quebec, P.Q.**

**September 20th to 25th, 1909**





# REPORT

OF

## MR. W. R. TROTTER

British Representative

### The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada



### CITY OF QUEBEC

September 20th to 25th, 1909.





## SECOND REPORT OF BRITISH AGENT—1908-9.

In submitting this report we do so with a regard to what has already been issued on this subject in our first report to the Convention of 1908, at Halifax, N.S. Much that appeared in that report might be repeated, seeing that the second mission to Britain was simply a continuation of the previous effort. We would suggest, therefore, that the delegates should make an acquaintance with what has been published on the subject in the Proceedings of 1908 Convention.

The Halifax Convention having decided to continue the campaign in the British Isles against the misrepresentation of Canadian industrial conditions, the Congress representative was instructed to return there after making certain investigations and arranging for the regular transmission of up-to-date reports from the various centres of population.

Liverpool was reached during the last week of October, and the following week spent in London, where we notified the Press and the Leaders of the Labor movement of our return to continue the work begun the previous winter. The larger centres of population in the provinces were then visited.

Return visits were paid to Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Edinburgh and Glasgow; and in all of these places the welcome extended was as hearty as on the previous occasion. Newcastle was also re-visited; and addresses delivered for the first time in Swansea (Wales), Gloucester, Northampton, Coventry, Derby, Crewe, Sheffield, Halifax, Bradford, Harrogate, Blackburn, Preston, Wigan, Middlesbro', Hartlepool, South Shields, and Benwell, in England; and Falkirk and Dundee in Scotland.

An opportunity was afforded of meeting the Parliamentary Committee of the English Trades Congress at their offices in London, and also the Parliamentary Labor Party, in a Committee Room of the House of Commons.

During January the Annual Convention of the British Labor Party was held at Portsmouth, which your representative attended as a Fraternal Delegate. There were upwards of 400 delegates at this gathering from all parts of the British Isles, while the galleries were crowded in every available place by interested visitors, many of whom were prominent members of other organizations. Brief reports of our statements at this Convention appeared in most of the British newspapers.

The 1909 Convention of the Scottish Trades Congress, meeting at Dunfermline at end of April, was also visited and every opportunity afforded of placing our case before the delegates present.

At all of these gatherings copies of our 1908 "Emigration" Report were distributed, and in this way the lack of printed statement which hampered us on the previous visit was to some extent overcome.

We would again testify to the cordial reception met with among every section of the workers, and their appreciation of our desire to give them a true conception of the industrial position in the Dominion of Canada. So general on the part of the representative men was the wish to assist us in our campaign that it would be a mistake to name any one in particular, although a multitude of kindly actions press on our memory. In regard to collective action we desire to mention, however, the fact that after the first visit to Manchester Trades Council, and during the C.P.R. strike of 1908, this Council printed circulars setting forth the case for the Canadian workers and distributed them among all their affiliated unions. The Glasgow Trades Council during the same period printed large two-colored posters warning intending emigrants of the existing

conditions. Our thanks are especially due to those who have been at some expense to assist us, and this applies to all those places where halls were engaged and notices printed by the various Trades Councils.

### NEWSPAPER COMMENT AND CRITICISM.

The journalistic feature of our campaign was even greater than during 1907-8, principally owing to the fact that the effect of our interference in the Emigration field was increasingly evident. Some of the Societies in the traffic would no doubt have preferred to ignore us, and the directors of their destinies showed such a disposition to begin with, but found themselves very reluctantly compelled to take up arms to defend their position as well as they were able.

Newspaper comment divided itself very much along the lines indicated in the previous report, Radical papers supporting, while the Protectionist papers opposed—only that the leading London representatives of the Conservative and Protectionist press became more bitter and even personal, as their position appeared the more untenable.

The *Morning Post* reprinted twice during the winter a column of matter which they issued in criticism during December, 1907, and which was based on a grossly inaccurate report. This was fully replied to and the inaccuracy pointed out in the *Westminster Gazette* and several other papers. Your agent was charged with saying that for the first half of 1907 more than 252,000 emigrants entered Canada; and this ridiculous assertion was quoted as a specimen of the veracity of his general references to the subject. What he really did say was that "for the twelve months ending June, 1907, 252,038 emigrants entered Canada," these figures being the Government statistics, which were always quoted on the subject. When called upon later to correct still further inaccuracies, the *Morning Post*, being unable to dig up any further argument, reprinted for the third time the same stale assertions, and pretended that no answer had been given.

The veriest tyro in public matters would know that "cable" and "wireless" forbid romancing, and had there been even the slightest disposition on the part of the Congress agent to exaggerate, common prudence would have dictated differently. It is worth noting that with all the criticism which has appeared, and although the campaign has extended over the greater part of two years, even the bitterest enemy of the workers has been unable to furnish one proof of inaccurate statement during the whole mission.

One little evening paper of Protectionist persuasion (*London Globe*), which seems to adopt a parrot-like affinity to the *Morning Post*, kindly made the suggestion that "Mr. Trotter ought to return to Canada, where he might undertake more useful work than he has shown himself capable of here." Yet this was the same paper which in an earlier issue, (Aug. 27, 1908), in discussing the decrease in emigration, said:—

"Increased strictness of examination at the landing ports in America and Canada may have something, but hardly very much, to do with the decline. More important, probably, as a preventive factor was the visit of some Canadian Labor delegates, who advised English laborers not to go to that land of promise; and possibly the fact that our own Labor leaders are often short-sighted enough to discourage emigration has been an additional reason."

Again in their issue of January 7th, 1909, we read the following:—

"This country was recently visited by a Mr. Trotter who represented the dog-in-the-manger attitude of the Labor-Socialist party in Canada; and there can be no doubt that his 'advice', which was always to refrain from emigrating, had considerable effect in Great Britain, especially as it was echoed with joyful glee by the Radical journals."

Comment is scarcely necessary—apparently what is characterized by the *London Globe* as "useless work" is the very success for which we were striving.

An enterprising journal, bearing the title *Canada*, also endeavored to give advice, which by the way is generally from the view-point of the Manufacturers' Association. In their issue of the 20th February, 1909, the following appears:-

"Mr. Trotter's whole business in life apparently is to keep out of Canada the most capable and desirable emigrant. Why? Because the Trades and Labor Congress think that the arrival in the Dominion of numbers of skilful laborers would lower the wages of Canadian workers. Mr. Trotter, who is energetic in his campaign against emigration to Canada, is fond of dwelling on the subject of unemployment in the Dominion, and he gives startling figures to prove his assertion that labor is not wanted in Canada. One of his statements made recently was to the effect that there are 4,000 out of work in Vancouver and 10,000 in Toronto. Immediately the accuracy of these figures was denied authoritatively. But Mr. Trotter still sticks to his assertion that more workers are brought into the Dominion than are required."

The immediate and "authoritative" denial was the thrice-printed inaccuracy of the *Morning Post* already referred to. Again on April 10th this magazine criticises the protest of Mr. Studholme, in the Ontario Legislature, against the bonusing of the Salvation Army, and refers to a "talking delegate from the utterly selfish Trades Unions of the large Canadian cities." Perhaps we may be allowed to add that if the workers had possessed a monopoly of the quality of selfishness our campaign against the policy of the Manufacturers' Association and their "charitable" and uncharitable allies would not have been necessary. In the same article they referred to "the short-sighted principle of a labor oligarchy, which inspires the unprincipled perversions of the truth about unemployment in Canada which have been put about by Mr. Trotter and other paid emissaries."

This libel could not be allowed to pass, and the following letter was at once sent to the editor, and appeared, with the appended apology, on April 24th, 1909:

#### "CANADA'S IMMIGRATION POLICY."

"To the Editor of 'Canada,'—

"Sir,—In your issue of April 10th there appears a paragraph on Ontario's Immigration Policy, which closes with a reference to the 'unprincipled perversions of the truth about unemployment in Canada which have been put about by Mr. Trotter and other paid emissaries.' I wish to challenge this statement and ask you to prove that I have put about one single perversion of the truth in this regard.

"Your statement having no foundation in substance or in fact, let me also suggest that the writer's zeal has led him into the use of offensive and dangerous expressions—a person who uses unprincipled perversions must necessarily be an unprincipled person.

"I hope you will give place in your next issue to my letter with that comment which appears to be necessary.—Yours sincerely,

"W. R. TROTTER."

"We regret that Mr. Trotter finds the article in question personally offensive. It was not meant to be so. As we said in the article, quoting from the *Toronto Globe*, 'Between those whose ideal labor market holds abundance of labor both cheap and willing, and those whose ideal is a scarcity of labor, high priced and hard to obtain, there is a cleavage so wide that it leads to ludicrous misunderstandings.' Each of these contending parties furnishes figures as to unemployment, and they differ very much.

"Mr. Trotter's figures are not confirmed by official figures.—Editor of *Canada*."

The negative statement in regard to "official figures" would put all statistics on both sides out of court, as no serious attempt to publish unemployment figures in Canada has been or is likely to be undertaken "officially." The only special

reference to the question made by the Department of Labor gave no figures and avoided any mention of some of the most affected points in the Dominion.

It may be noted that this magazine, *Canada*, sent a special commissioner (Mr. E. B. Osborne) to study the conditions in Canada last winter, and this gentleman being interviewed in Canada made statements which certainly do not accord with the editorial position of his magazine. Apparently his citation of the facts were as distasteful as they were surprising to his employers. At all events very little comment appeared after his return. One of his statements to the *Winnipeg Free Press*, Dec. 22, 1908, was as follows:—

"There is much unemployment on the Coast, more even than on the prairies at the present time. Anybody who has a job in Winnipeg ought not to throw it up on the chance of doing better in Prince Rupert, or any other city on the Coast. For the present, at any rate, a job in the hand—even if it be not exactly a 'bird'—is worth two in the British Columbia bush."

Another disconcerting feature to the enemy was that this and other statements of a similar nature came along just when they were glorying in the romantic utterances of a Mr. Vrooman from British Columbia, whose thrilling "experiences" were interlarded with attacks upon the workers of British Columbia, in the most approved Canadian Board of Trade style. Mr. Vrooman's desire to transfer the "shivering poor from the Thames Embankment to the forests of British Columbia" looked grotesque when paralleled with the findings of Mr. Osborne who was then in Canada.

A great deal has been said in Canada about the opposition of certain London dailies, and these references will give some idea of its effective value. Some were prepared to print every statement from emigration promoters, while closing their columns to any reply. One case of this sort was the printing of an audacious string of misrepresentations from "Colonel" Lamb, of the Salvation Army, in the London *Times* of October 12th, 1908, in reference to what occurred at the Halifax Convention; and the refusal to print in reply the corrective letter signed by the Congress Executive Officers. This did not prevent its circulation throughout the entire Kingdom by means of other agencies.

The printed Report as presented at Halifax in 1908 was sent to every publishing office in the United Kingdom, and to prominent Members of Parliament and Labor leaders. The newspapers of England, Scotland and Ireland quoted largely from it, and the comment was, on the whole, fair and favorable.

Extravagant and misleading statements are continually appearing all over the Kingdom, chiefly in the form of letters to the Press, and the work of replying to these was considerable. Some of them were quite persistent, and generally the knowledge exhibited of Canadian affairs by this class of correspondent is in inverse ratio to the zeal with which they clamor for an open door and a freedom from restraint in the pursuit of their favorite fad of emigration for all classes of people. Could space be given to some of these communications, especially a few of those emanating from a clergyman in Brighton, the Canadian Trades Unionist would be amused if he were not interested.

There is in existence in Britain a class of self-styled "Imperialists" of the "snob" type who affect to look upon self-governing Dominions much as the House of Lords might look upon a Parish Council; and the existence of any movement opposed to their imperious will strikes them as impertinence on the part of a subject people which should be "brushed away" with a firm Imperial hand. And when the Governments of overseas Dominions venture to assert that the welfare of the people they govern has some little place on their programme which does not accord with the wishes of these high and mighty arbiters of Imperial destiny, then they fret and fume, and rush into print with the most absurd declarations on the "future of the Empire," and the "ascendancy of the Anglo-Saxon race." It may be noted also that "Yankeeophobia" is one of the most common features of "dementia Imperia."



## THE TRANSPORTATION COMPANIES.

Any decrease in emigration means to these companies a corresponding decrease in profits, and it can be expected that every effort will be made to offset the effect of the Congress campaign. Much capital has been invested in facilities for transporting emigrants, and while some of the Companies may be willing to get this business honestly, the one desire which is manifest is to *get it*. All the Companies advertise largely, and most alluring pictures are dangled before the public.

The Canadian Pacific Railway Company issues a pamphlet entitled "Work and Wages" which is done up in three-colored cover and reads like an official document in tabulating conditions and wages, but would make a poor text-book for the study of "Truth." Among other things, on page 6 we read that:—

"Skilled men such as carpenters, bricklayers, masons, painters, paper-hangers, lathers, plasterers, metal workers, stonecutters, boilermakers, shipwrights, cyclemakers, waggonmakers, coopers, etc., *experience no difficulty in getting work.*"

The statement is also made that for printers the "usual hours are nine a day, but in many cases are now reduced to eight." This Company is bound to know that statements such as the former are untrue, and that the hours in the printing trade are eight per day—nine hours being worked only in country offices, and in very few of these and only where unorganized.

The C.P.R. also emphasizes a "Demand for men for railway construction" although the Government has instructed its agents otherwise for the present.

Seeing that this pamphlet is supplied to all shipping agents, any Government instructions or advice is nullified by the supplying of such a booklet to the intending emigrant along with Government issues. It is certainly time that the Government of Canada took powers and exercised them with a view to censoring the literature of the transportation Companies, or otherwise the stock official protest that "mechanics are not advised," etc., becomes simply a pharisaical subterfuge—an official "Cave of Adullam."

The Allan Line quite openly asks for "bricklayers, carpenters, and artisans of all kinds."

Another pamphlet issued by the Grand Trunk Railway Company, and which until late in 1908 could be picked up in most towns in Britain, contained the following statement:—

"Beyond a doubt Canada is the land for all earnest, intelligent, able-bodied workers, where a variety of pursuits furnish well-paid labor to farm-laborers, stablemen, miners, railway-builders, founders, machinists, cotton and woollen mill operators, masons, bricklayers, carpenters, mill operatives, in fact, artisans and mechanics of all kinds; also a large demand for domestic servants."

We are pleased to record that this issue has now been recalled, and the new issue appears with all the words from "founders" to "mechanics of all kinds, deleted. Also that on page 9 of this pamphlet where appears the statement beginning "Railway and mining work is plentiful" etc., the Company has printed in larger type and red ink the cancellation notice saying "RAILWAY WORKERS AND MINERS NOT REQUIRED AT PRESENT." When other companies can be induced to adopt a similar line of action they will revolutionize much of their literature.

## EMIGRATION AGENCIES.

Among the ordinary ticket agencies there is not now the same amount of individual advertisement as formerly. Most of them are willing to allow the large Companies and the respective Governments to supply all the literature they use. The advertisements which do appear are for farm hands and domestics.

We have evidence that there is some activity on the part of the successor to the individual who acted as the British Agent of the Canadian Manufacturers'

Association. His efforts to obtain printers have attracted the attention of the Old Country Unions. He was also seeking weavers during May, 1909, and it is somewhat significant that these were not openly advertised for, but application was made to officials of charitable agencies in the weaving district of England, known as City Guild of Help. Looking through the Laws of the body applied to, we read: "It is desirable that only sober, industrious, and healthy people, who are ready to take the first job that is offered them should be assisted to emigrate."

There can be little doubt that designing agents realize the usefulness of charitable societies. It will scarcely be argued that there was a desire to assist in a charitable way the society referred to. It speaks well for the way in which our story has circulated that efforts of this kind fail to secure the desired secrecy.

Letters from disappointed emigrants seem to worry the officials of the Immigration Department a great deal, as they endeavor to reply to all of them. Many of the aforesaid letters are undoubtedly very foolish, but the replies in some cases might take a different tone with advantage, if the Government is sincere in the use of the phrase already alluded to—"Mechanics are not advised," etc. An instance of a reply of this sort may be found in the *Clarion* for May 21st, 1909, worded as follows:—

"Although this Department does not find it necessary to give information regarding opportunities for skilled artisans in Canada, yet no one can shut their eyes to the increasing number of advertisements appearing in the leading papers of Canada for labor; and I venture to say that employers in Canada are now obliged to distinguish—as, indeed, the employers in England do—between the unemployed who can work and the unemployed who cannot or will not.

"As evidence of the improving conditions, allow me to quote the following figures regarding new buildings for which permits were taken out in the month of February this year, compared with the same month last year."

(Here follows a list of building permits).

"No one who knows anything of the conditions in Canada at present or during last winter can say that there was anything like as much unemployment as during the previous winter. Add this fact to the above figures regarding building, and your readers can draw their own conclusions."

What we wish to point out is that if matter of this kind is not actually enticing skilled artisans to Canada, then there is nothing more calculated to do so. To adduce the "Want" columns of a newspaper as evidence that work for artisans exists, if wanted, is a poor business at any time, and seeing that no mention is made of the more than sufficient supply of workers on the spot, this would at once be understood as a demand for a further shipment of mechanics. Congress is entitled to ask for consistency when assurances have been given and accepted, as the average Briton has a large idea of the importance of an "official" declaration.

Speaking generally, however, in regard to the Government Agencies, they appear to be conducted with a diplomacy and a discreetness which is not frequently departed from.

It would be well to urge that all emigration literature should bear the date of issue, as booklets seven years out of date have been handed out as "up-to-date" material by a private agent, and when questioned he asserted that they "never kept old stuff." The pamphlet referred to was issued during the Preston regime at Charing Cross, and was distinctly misleading in regard to "Cost of Living in Canada," during 1909.

Discreetness has also characterized most of the utterances of the "farmer delegates" of the Government, in so far, at least, as they have been reported. One exception was a Mr. Griffiths, who volunteered the statement to the *Colonizer* that "ninety per cent. of the unemployed of Canada were out of work simply

through their own faults." From the remainder of his remarks it would appear that he has been doing a large business as an employment agent. If he had no further reason for unemployment to offer to intending Welsh settlers, we can be sure that if he induced many people to emigrate there will be a goodly number of disappointed ones among them at a later period; and their position will not be improved by the fact that the workless emigrant can be maligned with comparative impunity.

#### EMIGRATION BOARDS AND SOCIETIES.

Chiefly owing to the careful administration of the restrictions in regard to emigration through charitable and other agencies, the history of most of them during the past year might be measured more by their desires and intentions than by anything actually achieved since the Canadian Government got more nearly in line with the other self-governing Dominions on the question of Immigration.

Any criticism of the Central Emigration Board (or Bureau) of London, is apt to become criticism of its chairman, Sir Clement Kinloch-Cooke, who has been much more in evidence than his organization. His somewhat profuse contributions to the daily press, and a magazine article, only serve the more clearly to demonstrate that the class of emigrant in whom the Central Board is most interested is *not* the class for which the Dominion of Canada has any present need.

Writing in the *Empire Review* for April, the founder and chairman of the Central Emigration Board makes a lengthy attack upon the report of Mr. Bruce Walker, and actually suggests various ulterior motives for its publication by the Immigration Department. He also refers to our campaign thus:—

"As an electioneering device it (Mr. Bruce Walker's Report) may be said to have performed useful service.—But against this advantage, if advantage it be, must be placed the unfortunate incident that it provided the Labor agitators in Canada with a timely brief for the campaign they subsequently engineered in this country. In the course of that campaign the representative of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada joined hands with the anti-emigrationists on this side, and by pressing home Mr. Bruce Walker's charges against the societies in a manner best suited to emphasize his own particular arguments he undoubtedly succeeded in damping the ardour for emigrating to Canada which had of late been glowing up in the minds of the working classes. Such a result may be very welcome to the Trade Unionists in Canada, but it is hardly likely to assist in promoting what so many of us are aiming at, the consolidation of the Empire, and the development of Canada by British stock."

In this connection we cannot refrain from noting that "patriotism" is the greatest commercial asset of some citizens; and if the workers as a class are not so easily hypnotized by it as formerly, then the aforesaid citizens may take much of the credit for the change.

A scheme for "Imperial Labor Exchanges" is also among Sir Clement's emigration machinery, but with a surplus of mechanical labor in Canada it is difficult to see where he can hope thus to relieve the pressure in Britain, unless he is willing to increase the same evil in the Dominion. One fact cannot be too strongly pressed home and understood—the pressure of unemployment can be increased in Canada up to the breaking point long before making any appreciable difference in the Old Country situation.

Commenting on the *Empire Review* article, the *Canada* magazine after suggesting the "standpoint of the untravelled English," offers the advice that "It would be well if all the members of the Central Emigration Board would visit the Dominion and make themselves personally acquainted with the unemployed question in the Canadian cities and towns." Might we also add that the usual calling places of the "touring aristocrat" are not the places to get the information, and that the various "publicity agencies" (?) are the last places to discover it, for obvious reasons.

We have previously referred to the peculiar composition of the Central Board and wondered just why these people were in the emigration business. A letter of appeal for funds on their behalf was issued during August, 1908, signed by the Duke of Sutherland (President); Earl of Ranfurly, Lord Brassey, Lord Haversham, and Hon. Harry Lawson (Vice-Presidents); Lord Hindlip, Lord Cheylesmore, Sir Robert Lucas-Tooth, Sir Edward Stern, Rev. Prebendary Russell Wakefield, Sir William Chance (Treasurer), and Sir Clement Kinloch-Cooke (Chairman). No doubt many of these are very estimable citizens, but that only serves to increase our wonder.

A report of one of their meetings in a London weekly (May 24, 1908) is of some interest:—

#### "STAFFORD HOUSE MEETING.

"If any proof were needed of the efficacy of the Canadian Trade Unionists' campaign against the emigration agents, it was forthcoming at the meeting of the Central Emigration Board, on Tuesday afternoon, at Stafford House, St. James's. The Duke of Sutherland's magnificent residence has surely never been used for the display of a more remarkable flow of denunciatory oratory than that which echoed around the marble pillars of its grand staircase on this occasion, when the Duke of Argyll, Lord Hindlip, Mr. Seton-Karr, the Rev. W. H. Vance, and Mr. Fabian Ware attacked the absent Trade Unionists for their 'wicked misrepresentations.' The clerical supporter of the discomfited Central Board, indeed, exhibited a lack of Christian charity which we can but hope is not characteristic of his followers at the Church of Ascension, Toronto, over which he presides. 'From all such men as Keir Hardie, good Lord deliver us!' he exclaimed, to the approving laughter and cheers of the well-to-do ladies and gentlemen around him."

This 'reverend' gentleman, whose familiarity with ecclesiastical phrases seems to have bred a contempt for reverence, is the person who is referred to by Sir Clement Cooke, in the *Review* article, as an authority because "all emigrants arriving in Toronto, alighted from the train within the limits of his parish." It is fairly safe to assert that if Mr. Vance knows just as much about the rest of his parish, then the most of his parishioners have yet to make his acquaintance.

For the two years ending March 23rd, 1909, the Central Emigration Board had sent out 440 emigrants. The chief danger from this body is that it is composed of the most confirmed anti-Trade Unionist and avowed anti-Laborites, and if for no other reason will continue to be held suspect. The interest of the employing community will always be their first concern.

The Central Unemployed Body for London, during the year ending March 31st, 1908, had assisted to emigrate 4,397 persons, including 3,076 dependants; and provincial Distress Committees assisted 1,669, including 1,232 dependants. These figures average three dependants to each working emigrant. The monetary assistance to these 4,745 persons amounted to over \$213,000. The figures are from a House of Commons return.

Knowing that the Australasian Dominions are seeking the same class of emigrant ostensibly wanted by Canada, the statements of the Premier of New South Wales, Australia, on November 24th, 1908, on the question of immigration to that country are interesting, especially his remarks in reference to the operation of the Societies just mentioned above.

"This Government (New South Wales) is not in any way co-operating" said the Premier, "with the philanthropic bodies, such as the Central Emigration Bureau (or Board) or the Central Unemployed Body in London. These are institutions of a worthy character, carrying on their work for the purpose of relieving the large cities of their large population of misfits. The movement is subsidized by the Government, and it is also supported by voluntary subscriptions, and it pays these bodies to ship oversea those who are dependent on charity

through want of employment rather than paying for their sustenance in local asylums. Hitherto these people have been transferred in large numbers to Canada. Owing to the low fares it proved economical to do that, and a ready opening apparently existed in the Dominion for them. Now, however, immigration seems for the time being to have been overdone in Canada, and these bodies are turning their attention to Australia. A proposal was made to the Government some months ago by the Central Emigration Bureau for assistance and co-operation in bringing out these surplus city workers. An examination of their report and prospectus showed that these people consisted almost entirely of the artisan, shopkeeping, and mechanical classes of workmen, and out of some 3,000 names on their books only three pretended to be farm laborers. Under these circumstances the Government decided it would be folly to assist such a movement—directly or indirectly. The Central Body of Unemployed seems to be an organization worked on somewhat the same lines. The Government has not been approached in regard to it, but I take the view that, unless these organizations can supply a steady stream of men who are fit for the life on the land, it is unkind to them and to our own people to bring them out to congest the population of our large towns and cities."

The East End Emigration Society, which in 1906 sent out 4,000 emigrants, and in 1907 sent 6,100, only succeeded in sending 859 persons during 1908. The admission is made on their behalf that this reduction is "in no wise due to any lack of suitable applicants, and still less to any slackening in the zeal and interest of the promoters of the movement, but solely to the state of the labor market in Canada, and the restrictions imposed there." Seeing that this society, in conjunction with the Charity Organization Society of London were actually advertising (May 30, 1909) for funds to enable them to ship general laborers to the "factories of Hamilton, Deseronto," etc., we may be pardoned for thinking that the state of the labor market in Canada is of very small concern to them, and that the chief deterrent forces are the Government restrictions. If the Press and the public in Hamilton had not become thoroughly aroused, it is easy to see what would have happened.

The Church Emigration Society during 1908 sent out only 438 persons. The Press campaign carried on by the officers of this society against the restrictions, and the subsequent tall talk of Imperial Government intervention will still be remembered. In their annual review, (1909), Mr. Hamilton, their honorary treasurer, states: "This year the work of the Emigration Department has been very small. . . . As we could not persuade the Canadian Government to relax their regulations, it was decided that, after emigrating those who were in training at the farm colony, the work should be suspended for the season."

During 1908, the British Women's Emigration Association sent out 505 persons, and the Barnardo Homes, 943. Something less than 2,000 were sent out by some 20 other societies, whose operations have not been on a large scale.

Commenting on the situation created in Emigration circles during the last two years, the London *Daily Chronicle* published a lengthy article, parts of which are specially interesting to Canadians:—

#### "A REVOLUTION IN EMIGRATION.

"Never in the history of emigration within the British Empire has there been such a situation, affecting Britain in particular, as obtains at the present hour. The character of emigration has been practically revolutionised. . . .

"The facts are indisputable. A recent survey of the work of the emigration agencies in London confirms the force of the general statement. There is a mighty slump in emigration, especially with that Eldorado of the booking agents, Canada. . . .

"A certain political party in the State has succeeded in preventing an influx of our mechanic blood. Their policy is to ring-fence the cities for Canadians only,

and it must be admitted that, by our methods of private competitive emigration here, we have almost forced them to this action.

"The work of some of the philanthropic agencies has been brought almost to a standstill: The Central Emigration Board will not send fifty men and women to Canada this season. The London Central (Unemployed) Body, with all its enormous financial resources are not sending a quarter of the people to Canada that they did two years ago.

"We have no desire to glory in the discomfiture and bringing to naught of anyone's plans, but the workers of Canada have every reason to be thankful that those who are still determined to force emigration will be compelled to adopt other methods than the indiscriminate and criminal dumping which has been the prevailing feature in the past. It may even be that some of these "promoters" may be driven to the study of saner methods by the simple process of having to dismount from their "hobby-horse."

### THE SALVATION ARMY.

In spite of official promises on behalf of this body, given at the Halifax Convention, to respect the condition of the labor market in future, very few of the Canadian workers had left to them a sufficient amount of faith in the Salvation Army to believe that they would be guided by ought save their ability to secure every piece of "business" they possibly could. This lack of faith has been abundantly justified by the events of the present year; although, in common with other "charitable" societies, during this period they must be judged more by their intentions than by anything actually achieved, as they have been hard hit by the Government restrictions and the publicity given by the Congress campaign.

During 1908, out of a total of 12,000 emigrants sent out by over 30 different societies, the Salvation Army section numbered 7,297. Their original intention for that year was to send 20,000, and having the machinery prepared to do so, they were very reluctant when circumstances compelled a curtailment of such a profitable business.

The visit of the moving spirits in the Emigration Department of the "Army" to the Halifax Convention will not soon be forgotten by the delegates then present, and there was a hope that a change of policy on their part would take place, while a regard for the profession of the Salvation Army led some to hope that they would quit the emigration business and "return to spiritual work." These must have been shocked as well as surprised to read the amazing "Report" by "Colonel" Lamb in the columns of the *Times* on October 12, 1908, purporting to be a record of what took place at the Convention. Surely a more glaring travesty of fact never appeared anywhere, and Mr. Hardie, M.P., referred to it as "dastardly." Following the usual tactics of "getting from under" in a case of this sort, the alleged report is always referred to in S. A. literature as a *Times'* record, and quoted as such. "Colonel" Lamb must surely have been unaware that the Proceedings of each Convention are carefully recorded and published, when he made this statement:—

### (THE SALVATION ARMY STATEMENT).

"Loud objections having been raised in Socialist and Trade Union circles against the importation of labor, and especially against such organized and effective methods as The Salvation Army's, Colonel Lamb conferred with the Labor leaders in Vancouver and Winnipeg, and at their suggestion afterwards attended the Annual Trade Union Convention, which was held at Halifax in September.

"A special session was held, at which Mr. Trotter, the Canadian delegate who spent last winter in England, stirring up opposition to emigration, presented his report.

"Colonel Lamb and his Canadian colleague, Lieut.-Colonel Howell, then addressed the Convention, explaining The Army's methods of selecting and distributing emigrants. Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., was also present. In conversation with Colonel Lamb and others he declared that he did not object to emigration, but to 'forced emigration'—that is, to the conditions compelling a man either to emigrate or to starve—nor did he object to The Salvation Army's system of lending the passage money when a man had resolved to go out; and, when emigration had been decided on, he knew of no better agency than The Salvation Army to carry it out. A similar view was expressed by delegates at the Convention. No resolution was passed, except one expressing hostility to the promotion of emigration by Government bonuses to booking agents."

Such falsehoods as appeared in this story could not be allowed to pass, and the Congress Executive issued to the Press the following true statement, while the British representative drew attention to the matter on various platforms in Britain:—

"Ottawa, May 1st, 1909.

"The attention of the Executive Committee of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has been directed to statements made in the *Salvation Army Emigration Gazette* relative to Colonel Lamb's visit to the Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, in Halifax, N.S., last year; and having read the reports that appeared in the *Gazette* carefully, we are compelled, in the interests of veracity, to give an unqualified denial to such misleading and dishonest statements. The presence of Colonel Lamb and Colonel Howell at the Convention will form one of the most interesting portions of the reports of Congress proceedings. The methods of the Salvation Army in promoting emigration in the United Kingdom was severely condemned by delegates from Halifax to Vancouver, and incidents of suffering were cited as a direct result of the Army's policy. We emphatically deny that Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., expressed himself favorably towards the Army's methods, as reported in *The Times* of October 12th, 1908; nor did even a single delegate express any such views. Opinion was unanimously against the Army's methods. Colonel Lamb and Colonel Howell were given every opportunity to deny or explain each circumstance as cited by the delegates and in summing up the whole situation Colonel Lamb stated that he thought he 'Would return to spiritual work,' while Colonel Howell promised to give a closer study to 'Industrial and Economic Conditions.' As another evidence that the two Army representatives had smarted under the criticism of the labor delegates, the day following their appearance before the Congress a telegram was received from Colonel Lamb assuring the Convention that the chartering of steamers would be discontinued by the Army. It was conceded by all who attended the Congress Convention, including non-delegates, that Colonel Lamb made out a very poor defence of the Army's position, and the labor men of Canada had every reason to expect that the Army would change its programme. The statements made by Mr. W. R. Trotter, the Congress representative in the United Kingdom, are supported by the Executive Committee of the Congress, and any effort made by the Army representatives to destroy the effectiveness of Mr. Trotter's work by referring to him as an individual is at the same time a disguised effort to minimize the efforts of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada to prevent the Salvation Army developing commercialism within their religious organization to the detriment of the wage workers of Canada.

"(Signed)

"ALPHONSE VERVILLE, M.P., President;

"JAMES SIMPSON, Vice-President;

"P. M. DRAPER, Secretary-Treasurer;

"Trades and Labor Congress of Canada."

The Congress officers do not deal with the latter clause of the S. A. statement, which is also incorrect, as the Executive Committee's Report contained the following recommendation, which was unanimously adopted and subsequently acted upon:—"We would strongly recommend that this Congress demand of the Federal Government that the present system of bonusing steamship companies, immigration agencies, and all other organizations, *particularly the Salvation Army*, be discontinued."

It would also appear that in an effort to secure the approval of someone prominent in Labor circles, no scruple has been made to misrepresent Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., who was interviewed on still another occasion by a Salvation Army officer. Mr. Hardie has consequently been constrained to issue a strong statement, which was sent to the Salvation Army offices and also to the *Labor Leader* as follows:—

"Editor, *Labor Leader*:—

"Sir,—I enclose herewith a copy of a letter which I have sent to the Editor of the *Social Gazette*, and as the matter is of some importance to the Labor movement at home and abroad, would beg the favor of its being inserted in your columns as a guarantee that it shall see the light.

"Yours, etc.,

"J. K. H."

"May 24th, 1909.

"To the Editor of the "*Social Gazette*."

"Sir,—On January 16th an article headed "Christlike Work" and which purported to be a report of an interview with myself appeared in your paper. I stipulated when giving the interview that I should see a proof before it appeared, and this you were good enough to send. But I did not see it until leaving Queens-town on my way to New York. Had I done so I should have prohibited the appearance of the article since in the form in which it is given it is a caricature of what I said. I emphasized strongly my total disagreement with the emigration policy of the Army and this has been altogether suppressed. My opinions have suffered a good deal of misrepresentation at the hands of the Press during the past twenty-five years, but in all that time I cannot recall a worse case of *suppressio veri, suggestio falsi* than the article in question. I must say frankly that my faith in the Army suffered a serious shock when I read what purported to be the report of the interview, and if all its departments are conducted with a like want of principle to that shown in this instance, then I begin to fear the critics and the opponents of the Salvation Army have more foundation for their attacks than I had given them credit for having. I should not at this length of time have troubled you in the matter but for the fact that I find in your spring issue of the *Emigration Gazette* you are again booming emigration, and that Colonel Lamb in a letter to the *Times* quotes me in such a way as to lead to the belief that I favor this policy. Under these circumstances I should be obliged if you will give this letter publicity and make it known that both to Col. Lamb in personal conversation, and to your interviewer, I condemned in the strongest language possible the emigration policy of the Salvation Army.

"Yours truly,

(Signed) "J. KEIR HARDIE."

Whatever opinions may be held regarding the operations of the Salvation Army in the Emigration field, there can only be the strongest condemnation of such miserable tactics as are here exposed, and when we read in conjunction with such methods the statement (page 48, "The Surplus") that—"The Salvation Army officers, though they are not perfect, have the stamp of consecration upon them," we may be pardoned for wondering whether or not these old-time terms are undergoing a change of indication. It must not be understood that our remarks apply equally to the poor, struggling, ill-paid, and often half-fed officers with whom the public is most familiar on the streets of our cities. These



may be left to make discoveries of their own in due time. Usually this class of officer knows very little if anything of the Salvation Army as represented by the multitude of commercial schemes which are carried on by the Bureaucracy above.

The Salvation Army representatives pretended at the outset to ignore the Congress campaign, and would no doubt have been glad to continue so had it been possible. Following the Portsmouth Convention of the British Labor Party, reference was made in Salvation Army literature to our statements there, and a personal attack made, together with a grossly inaccurate report of what was said on that occasion: As our whole position in the matter is at stake, and as this affords another example of just how recklessly these people are prepared to handle the truth, we give the *War Cry* report, and also the *verbatim* report of just what was said at this Convention by your delegate, taken from the published proceedings of the Labor Party, which can be freely obtained.

(From the *War Cry*, February 13, 1909).

"With a great deal of sound and fury, a delegate to the Labor Congress at Portsmouth has levelled charges against the Salvation Army's Emigration methods, which are as false as they are offensive.

"Indeed, the language of this patriotic 'Canadian'—who is not a Canadian at all, but an English immigrant—is sufficient on the face of it, to condemn the statements of the delegate in question. Where argument and fact are lacking, it is customary in some quarters to make up in abuse.

"This gentleman, having established himself in the Dominion, is now busy playing the part of the dog-in-the-manger, and is endeavoring to deter others from taking advantage of the opportunity which a new country presents.

"At the session of the Labor Congress he alleged, according to a statement in the *Times* newspaper, that 'hundreds of thousands of people were out of work in Canada, yet, beginning in March, the Salvation Army proposed to send 800,000 more people, with instructions to take the first job that was offered them.' The Salvation Army had simply become the Procurator-General for cheap labor for international capital."

"Such a palpably absurd statement as this is hardly worthy of contradiction.

"We are in perfect accord with the latter clause, and would point that here again they place the onus upon the *Times* newspaper for the alleged report, while they are quite willing for their own purposes to use what they were well aware was a travesty. Comparison with that part of the Fraternal Delegate's address referring to the S. A. will show that the 'Army' officials have multiplied our figures one hundred times. For the remainder of the address we have no apology to make as it was absolutely correct.

"He (Mr. Trotter) wished to draw their attention again to one particular society which was operating at this side of the Atlantic in the matter of emigration—the Salvation Army. In spite of the state of affairs in Canada these people were again busy. They had issued within the last seven days their programme for 1909; and if anybody was to offer prizes for the best way to prevaricate, without lying, that programme would obtain the first prize. Every piece of literature issued from that department of the Salvation Army crucified afresh the Carpenter of Nazareth and placed Ananias on a pedestal. They had had to suffer from the operations of that society, which had told all kinds of stories about colonizing in those regions. It was simply, however, sending into another labor market masses of working-class people who were told that they must accept the very first work which was offered them and go on from that to anything else they might get. There was an unemployed problem from the Atlantic to the Pacific. In the City of Vancouver there were 5,500 unemployed white men. In Winnipeg the charitable societies were at a loss how to combat the evils of unemployment. The Salvation Army proposed to send out another 8,000 people. The Salvation

Army had become the Procurator-General for cheap labor for international capital. He hoped his people would be able to combat this great evil and establish such conditions in that great Dominion as would enable white men to live as they ought to be able to live."

The issue of the "Programme for 1909" during January, marked the beginning of this year's Salvation Army emigration effort. Very little that was new appeared in it except the statement as to how the Government restrictions might be evaded in regard to the possession of a certain sum of money by emigrants. We quote the paragraphs as they appeared:—

"Through our Labor Bureaux passengers can secure employment, and are thus enabled to comply with the Government requirements—without being possessed of the £5 referred to. No evasion of the law. No risk of being denied admission to the Great Dominion."

"It is of course obvious that any suitable person who has not in his possession the extra £5 now ordinarily required from the passengers landing can easily comply with the Government requirements by securing a situation through our Labor Bureaux. The emigrant thus benefits by the Army's unique organization. It is a simple statement of fact and a clear presentment of undoubted advantage to emigrants."

Kipling is again quoted as a Canadian authority, and they actually print in large type his extravagant gush: "Canada wants five millions of Britain's overflowing population," and "we must pump in the emigrants faster than ever." Whether or not the inveterate little jingo poet was anxious to make amends for his previous reference to Canada as "Our Lady of the Snows," we cannot say, but the Salvation Army is quite willing to man those "pumps"—for a consideration.

Quoting again from the "Programme" we read: "THE POSITION IN THE EARLY DAYS OF 1909. . . . We are glad to note early evidences of a considerable demand for workers—our Canadian Office estimating that they can place 8,000 workers. . . . To meet this demand we have decided to arrange (D.V.) as follows" . . . . (Then follows a list of sailings). We cannot help pondering over the *deo volente* (D.V.). The ease with which the Deity is co-opted as a partner in such proceedings savour of cant if it is not absolute blasphemy.

Under the head of "Organized Emigration" we also read:—

"IT IS NOT—A great or elaborate Colonizing Scheme, but just a simple plan for helping and encouraging the right classes by arranging a safe outlet for them through the ordinary channels of the labor market."

"IT IS NOT—Much use anyone going to Canada unless he or she goes in a cheerful spirit and with a determination to take the first work that offers."

Will these societies never realize that such an injunction to thousands of emigrants inevitably means the reduction of the standard of living all round? We have yet to hear of the employer who will "offer" an advance on existing prices to the new-comer. The same process could be carried on in the most overcrowded centre of Britain. Given a job where 100 men are working for five shillings per day, and there you have a place where an equal number of men could occupy the same jobs at three-and-sixpence, and with an abundance of testimony on the part of the persons interested, that the new job-holders "were happy."

Apropos of this situation we have before us an interview which appeared in the *Daily Graphic* of November 5th, 1908, with "General" Booth:—

"My difficulty is to find somewhere to take the people. Some three or four months ago I addressed a party of emigrants at Euston Station (London, Eng.) at midnight. . . . A great portion of that consignment, say 500 of them, went to British Columbia. Five hundred more followed, the Government of British Columbia assisting in the cost. There is a man here now (the S. A. headquarters) who has been to Columbia to know how they got on, and this is the sort of thing that was said to him: 'We have sixty of your party in our valley, and they have proved a perfect Godsend to us. Do send us some more.' These people were

next door to starvation in England. They are now earning good wages and have repaid the cost of their transmission to these parts. That is the British Empire. What is the good of having a big Empire if we don't use it for assisting poor, struggling, working people."

Now turn to the other side of the story, as shown by two letters from a Vernon, British Columbia, resident, Mr. John T. Reid, who was writing in favor of B. C. fruit lands to the Scottish papers. In the *Glasgow News*, 30th of December, 1908, we read:—

"A man requires quite a little capital to start fruit farming, and I would not advise any one to come here to start fruit farming without at least £1,000 (\$5,000): As to getting work, while there was lots of work up till the beginning of this year, the Salvation Army people brought in a large number of immigrants to this valley last spring, and the result is there is not much work to be had, while I think it is likely that they will bring in more immigrants next year. Of course if you like to chance it, there possibly would be a job to be got in the month of March or the beginning of April, but you might have to wait a month or two to get it. The rate of wages generally speaking is two dollars per day."

In the *Aberdeen Free Press* (Scotland), for March 6th, 1909, from the same writer in correction of a previous statement, we have this:—

"I notice you publish some information I gave your representative about Vernon, Okanagan Valley, British Columbia. Would you kindly correct the statement about wages. It was possible for the ordinary laborer two years ago to get from 10s. to 12s. per day (\$2.50 to \$3.00), but now the regular wage for labor is 8s. (\$2.00) per day, which is good when you remember that the working man is not a slave there, and can work in the finest climate possible.

"However, labor demand at present is not great with us, as about 200 emigrants went in last year, and a man should have ten or twenty pounds in his pocket in case he does not get work at once."

Mr. Reid apparently cannot be accused of being in league with the wicked Trades Unionists, and this independent testimony to results needs no further comment.

Early in the season we discovered that the "Army" in sending out their own literature were also sending the *Canada* circular of the Emigrants' Information Office, with the addition of a printed direction on the front cover:—Please address your reply to Col. D. C. Lamb, 122 Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C." This being, in effect, a violation of the "Caution" printed on the back cover of these issues, which advises all emigrants to apply only to the Emigrants' Information Office or the Canadian Government Agency, the attention of the British Government Department was drawn to the matter, and the following reply received:—

"Emigrants' Information Office,

"31 Broadway, Westminster, S.W.

"9th March, 1909.

"Sir,—I am directed by the Managing Committee of the Emigrants' Information Office to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter of the 5th of March, in which you call attention to the use by the Salvation Army of a stamped notice on the Canada Circular issued by this office.

"I am to inform you that the Committee do not view with favor the addition of any printed or stamped matter to the circulars issued by this office, and that a communication is being addressed to the Salvation Army on the subject.

"I remain,

"Faithfully yours,

"W. R. TROTTER, Esq.

"M. JONES, Chief Clerk."

The attention of the Department was also called to the fact that out-of-date posters were being kept on the Notice Boards of the Emigrants' Information Office in certain Libraries, and this was promptly attended to. I believe that we

may rely upon the Emigrants' Information Office publishing the truth as far as they are able to discover it. They have absolutely no other interest in the matter.

Following the appearance of their "Programme" at end of January, the Salvation Army begun advertising in earnest for emigrants, and this has been kept up until July! "General" Booth says he never asked a person to emigrate, and "Colonel" Lamb, it will be remembered, said that the Salvation Army "did not favor emigration." Curious indeed then is the fact that they never made a more strenuous effort to obtain emigrants than they have during 1909. The favorite form of advertisement was for "150 men for farm work in Canada." Mechanics and artisans of all kinds were acceptable so long as they would make the statement that they "would accept farm work" to begin with. Thus the Salvation Army makes claim that only men for farm work are sent out, and that theirs is a "back to the land" policy. Quite sufficient proof can be given, however, that they take a very wide and elastic view of the term "agriculturist." There is further evidence of the fact that, in their desire to obtain "business" they will, in effect, connive at the early escape of alleged farm workers "from the land," after they have succeeded in eluding the Government restrictions as to the possession of "landing money" by following S. A. "advice."

There has come into our possession copies of the correspondence of some intending emigrants, and the signed S. A. replies. A joiner seeking work in Canada wished for information as to the best district and if possible the name of a firm to which he could apply. He appears to have received the usual literature and circular letter, with the addition of the following postscript applying to his particular case:—

"P.S.—See 'Canada Circular' herewith as to wages paid to joiners in different parts of the Colony. I am not able to give the name of a firm who is likely to have employment for you, but I think generally speaking Ontario will offer most opportunities. You ought to remember that the only class of labor in demand are farm workers. If you take the responsibility of finding employment upon yourself, it will be necessary for you to possess at least £5 in addition to cost of your journey to final destination. On the other hand if you take my advice and accept farm work, to which I guarantee to send you immediately on arrival, it will not be necessary to show this extra money.

"I shall be glad to hear from you again,

(P.)"

In reply to the foregoing the joiner stated that he had no particular desire for farm work, but seeing the advantages of their scheme he wished to know if they could place him on a farm near a town where he could have a chance of looking for work as a joiner. The reply is appended:—

"The Salvation Army Emigration Offices.

"122 Queen Victoria Street,

"London, E.C.

"March 12, 1909."

"Mr. S. B.—

"Dear Friend,—Referring to your letter, I have pleasure in enclosing particulars regarding our Insurance Scheme.

"I have no doubt we could place you in the neighborhood of a town where you may eventually find work in your own trade. I am glad to know that you have agreed to take farm work to begin with.

"I shall be pleased to book you on receipt of your deposit.

"Yours faithfully,

"DAVID C." LAMB, Colonel.

"per ———"

THE FOLLOWING ARE COPIES OF LETTERS BETWEEN SALVATION ARMY AND A PROSPECTIVE EMIGRANT TO CANADA WHO IS AN ENGINEER (MACHINIST).

(The italics are ours.)

"Newcastle-on-Tyne,

"19th March, 1909.

"To the Salvation Army Emigration Offices,

"Dear Sir,—I received your circular relating to your Insurance Scheme against loss of luggage and unemployment. I should like to inform you that I am an engineer to trade, and have been out of employment some considerable time, so I should like to know what prospects there are in Canada for me, as I really don't think I could do well on the land, not knowing much about farm work. I have a wife and two children to support and I should like to know if your insurance for unemployment would stand good until I got work at my own trade, that is if I did not like the farm work. I would be much obliged if you would send me further particulars.

"Thanking you for past kindnesses,

"I remain

"Yours truly,

"J. H. C——."

"Salvation Army Emigration Offices,

"122 Queen Victoria Street,

"London, E.C.,

"March 22nd, 1909.

"Mr. J. H. C——,

"Newcastle-on-Tyne.

"Dear Sir,—Replying to your further letter of the 19th, it is quite impossible to take the risk of unemployment, if you are not prepared to take farm work. This is the only class of employment we are in a position to guarantee. It does not follow, however, that, *were you in Canada*, you would not, *in the course of a few months, get employment at your own particular trade*. Our insurance pamphlet, I think, clearly states, that we are only prepared to undertake the insurance of people who are prepared to take up farm work, *that is, if they wish us to cover them against unemployment*.

"Yours faithfully,

"CHARLES HAMMETS,

"Financial Secretary.

So completely do these letters establish our point that we need neither further proof nor comment.

The claim has also been made that the S.A. refuses to supply men for strike-breaking purposes, and without doubt some amount of care has been taken to avoid such an open show of antagonism to organized labor. Cases have occurred in the past, however, and during the recent (April, 1909) strike of longshoremen (dock labourers) in Vancouver, their labour bureau was used in favour of the employing companies. We have in our possession the original order secured from a labourer acting as a strike-breaker on that occasion:

S.A. FREE LABOUR BUREAU  
332 Gore Avenue  
Phone 259. Vancouver, B.C.

Man sent *Gillion\**

Where sent *Union S.S. Company*  
*Union Wharf*

Date *April 2nd* Time.....

Nature of Work.....

N.B.—We do not hold ourselves in any way responsible for this man.

In regard to British Columbia, we are glad to record that the Provincial Government has refused to give any further commissions to the Salvation Army to supply emigrants. The Saskatchewan Government also refuses to be a party to such deals. Although a protest was made, the Ontario Government this year voted \$8,000 for this purpose, and during 1907-08 some \$17,000 in all was so handed out of Provincial Treasury.

We are looking to the Federal Government to cut out the bonus system, and also to take cognizance of the evasions of the spirit of the restrictive clauses. These may be expected to continue as long as the system is a source of profit to societies and individuals so far in excess of ordinary ticket selling commissions.

One of "Colonel" Lamb's remarks at Halifax last year needs to be rubbed well into the workers of the Dominion of Canada. "A lot of energy has been shown in attacking us," he said, "but you ought to direct more attention to the governments which make our operations possible. We only are taking advantage of our opportunities."

During the year the Salvation Army issued a booklet entitled "The Surplus," and for many reasons we wish the scope of this report could have been extended sufficiently to have dealt *seriatim* with the material there offered to the public. Their strictures upon Trades Unionism are interesting as showing how completely out of touch they are with any movement for the benefit of the workers, while their attitude to the "princes of this world" and the sleek sycophantry manifested, leave little doubt as to where their sympathy lies.

Space also forbids us to deal with the question of loans in connection with emigration, and the experiences of various committees with the S.A. on this subject, which we have been at some trouble to gather. According to the Army's own statements, in five years more than 2,000 loans, amounting to \$115,000 have been made; the individuals benefitting number nearly 10,000 out of the 40,000 sent out under S.A. direction. Of this amount only \$23,000 is stated to have been as yet paid back, at least up to August, 1908. Last year's loans (1908) amounted to over \$38,000. The number of emigrants for that year as already stated being 7,000. In regard to 1909, the figures cannot yet be given, but in an interview recorded on May 9th of this year, it was admitted that only 1,500 persons had up till then been sent; and on March 30th the *Times* on behalf of the S.A. makes the admission that: "Owing to the unfortunate shrinkage in the number of emigrants coming forward, there are not nearly enough men to take the situations which the Salvation Army has to offer." This doubtless accounted for the

feverish advertising on their part. We have no hesitation in saying, however, that Canada will find enough people to fill the labor bill for the year's work even if the "Army" schemes were an absolute failure.

What are "the situations which the S.A. has to offer?" Only what could be filled by Government Agency. It is a fact well-known in Canada, but not sufficiently well-known in other countries, that agricultural work is for the most part suspended during the winter, and farmers dispense with help which they have been glad enough to have during the summer. Some of this labor is taken up by winter lumbering operations, but many thousands are simply turned loose until the spring opening to scramble for anything that may be had over a period of from four to five months.

At the beginning of the winter the Salvation Army opens "Bureaus" at various points and invites farmers and others in each district to state what help they will want NEXT SPRING. The employers know that these people supply laborers, all of whom have had it impressed upon them that they must take the "first work that offers." This naturally carries with it the first wage that offers. Small wonder that they receive many applications for help. Last year's experienced helpers might ask for better terms.

But what of the people who held the positions previously? While the climate compels them to use up their summer earnings to subsist till Spring, the FRIENDS OF THE POOR are seeking others to fill every possible vacancy that comes their way. So long as they have "applications" just so long will they seek to supply the help from overseas and reap what profit can be had from their transportation.

Laborers in the mass have little chance to bargain for the sale of their labor. The buyer stipulates the price and can cheerily adopt the "take it or leave it" attitude.

The S.A. have made a bold statement that during the worst winters they have had situations for those who will work. The following letters from among many in our possession from S.A. emigrants is a sample of what takes place; yet to refuse such an "opening" is to be at once dubbed "a won't work."

"Wilton Avenue,

"Toronto, March 10, 1908.

"Sir,—I am one of the Salvation Army party. I sailed from Liverpool on the 28th March, 1907. I came straight through to Toronto, and went to the headquarters of the Salvation Army, in Albert Street, and they gave me a job on a farm, where I stopped for six weeks. I came to Toronto again, and got a job on my own account in Yonge Street. I stopped six months with my last firm and got a good reference.

"I went to the Salvation Army headquarters and asked them if they would give me work, and they told me the only thing they could do was to send me on a farm. I had to pay my own fare, \$3.00. I asked them did I receive any wages or what wage. They told me they did not know and I ought only to be too pleased to work for my board. I have been out of work since the 2nd of November, 1907. I might mention that I am a strict teetotaler."

"Sincerely yours,

"CHARLES S——."

"Toronto, Ont.,

"March 8th, 1907.

"Sir,—I am sorry to inform you that I came to Canada under the auspices of the S. A., and brought my wife and family and have had no work since October. I am sick and weary of trying. I have written to the S.A. officials for them

to find me work and they reply they are unable to find me *anything* but *farm work*, have had the bailiffs put in on me and turned into the street 2 weeks ago. I came out on the Southwark last March and am sorry I ever heard of Canada.

"Yours faithfully,  
"G. H. ———."

It is sometimes charged that the critics of S.A. are prejudiced. We submit another communication, sent to President British Welcome League, to which such a charge will scarcely be applied, yet the evidence is clear—and direct.

"Toronto, Feb. 23rd, 1908

"Mr. Chamberlain.

"Sir,—With reference to your request on Saturday evening, I beg to inform you that myself with wife and three children came out from England under the auspices of the Salvation Army. I enrolled myself as engineer, as I intended working at my trade. When we arrived here I found that a strike had been in progress for 2 or 3 months. I had no knowledge of this nor was any word of warning given to me as to strike or the adverse conditions of the labor market. I have repeatedly been to the labor bureau of the S.A., and stated my case on more than one occasion. I was willing to do anything I could get. I have done no work except a few days snowshovelling since October. My wife has been able until recently to keep the rent paid by a little fur work which is now over. Before leaving England I was considered an expert mechanic and was also an Instructor under the ——— County Council for metal work. Do not think for a moment that I wish to cast a slur against the S.A. They are doing a great work except in the case of emigration, which is diabolical. In the Old Country I admired them, and many a "lift up" I have had at their meetings. I have been a member of the Methodist Church since I was 14. My father has been superintendent of the Wesleyan Sunday School for a great number of years. I have a brother who is a C.E., and sister engaged to a well known ——— Minister; but I am ashamed to let them know how things are as they were against us coming. I never dreamt that I should come down so low as to have to come to the British Welcome League to ask for a loaf of bread. I should not do it now, but I cannot see the little kiddies go hungry. Sir, please understand me, this is not a begging letter, but a plain statement of facts. I should not have written this but for your request. I hope something will be done in the near future to stop this wholesale breaking up of hearts and homes.

"I am, Yours respectfully,  
(Sgd.) "R ——— R ———."

It is only natural that such tradesmen as have been sent to "the land" should seek permanent employment in their previous occupation in order to escape the conditions referred to. Thus there is a continual stream "from the land" to the city, and the normal ranks of skilled unemployed are swelled every winter by these. This only leaves room for more shipments of the same description of "agriculturists"—a continuation of the S.A. operations, and more of their advts. for "men for farm work in Canada."

Charity organisations right across Canada have had their hands full during the winter of 1908-9, and so long as these conditions exist it cannot be otherwise.

When the S.A. was shipping 1,000 emigrants from Britain to British Columbia, there were 1,500 of the unemployed in Toronto who were willing to go to that province if opportunity had been given.

After speaking in the *Surplus* of the demand for women servants in the colonies, it is stated: "In view of the need which is frequently demonstrated to us by applications from men in the colonies who are wanting good wives, and from suitable women at home who would be glad to 'settle down' if an opening offered,



a matrimonial bureau is likely to be a coming development of the emigration department."

It does not appear whether this new department is intended to provide more business for the "Intelligence Department" or not, but we are reminded of the following advertisement which appeared in the *War Cry*.

#### "INTELLIGENCE DÉPARTEMENT.

"Will procure information upon all matters referring to the respectability of persons, houses, situations, etc.; will make searches for Wills, Patents, Certificates of Births, Marriages, Deaths, etc.; and *advise in Divorce and Breach of Promise Cases, Probate, Legacy, Property, Businesses for Sale, and Investments*; will undertake Detective cases of certain kinds, and other confidential matters.

"Communications should be addressed—Major E. T. Beesley, Intelligence Department, 101 Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C."

One fact made very clear by their last publication is that the Australasian Dominions continue to turn a deaf ear to the importunities of their Emigration Department, and no scheme has matured in connection with South Africa. The "General" bemoans these facts, but seeing that these Colonies are seeking the same classes as Canada, there is evidently a reason which Canadian citizens should try to discover.

#### SOME IMMIGRATION FIGURES.

From British Government Statistical Tables on "Emigration," we get some interesting notes on the numbers and occupations of emigrants to Canada during 1907—the record year.

Out of a total of 104,166 adult males, only 11,360 are described as agriculturists, while 15,171 are returned as skilled tradesmen; 4,361 as commercial and professional; 60,117 as laborers; and 13,157 as "miscellaneous." The fact that only one in ten were agriculturists, and one in every seven a skilled craftsman, may afford a more satisfactory reason for the peculiar state of the labor market during the last two years than even the much heard-of "American panic." No doubt a large section of the 60,000 "laborers" were directed to agricultural work, but there are few towns in the Dominion from which a "tale of woe" was not forthcoming in connection with the fearfully indiscriminate work in selection of emigrants despatched to this work, as crowds of them simply flocked to the towns at the first opportunity, whom nothing short of pending starvation could induce to move out again to agricultural work for which they had neither inclination nor adaptability.

The figures in regard to European immigration for the last two years ending March 31st, 1909, are given for comparison:—

	1907—1908	1908—1909
April .....	34,438	20,669
May .....	38,755	17,145
June .....	32,319	10,752
July .....	20,946	6,851
August .....	16,936	5,398
September .....	15,204	5,403
October .....	13,597	4,504
November .....	10,109	3,002
December .....	6,099	2,098
January .....	2,805	1,801
February .....	3,698	2,171
March .....	9,251	7,282
	<u>204,157</u>	<u>87,076</u>
Decrease by Ocean Ports .....		117,081

Immigration from the United States during three years showed little variation, numbering for 1906-7: 59,263; for 1907-8: 58,312; and for 1908-9: 59,832. These were chiefly farmers and their dependants moving over the border with both capital, stock, and agricultural experience. The figures do not appear to bear out the contention that there was an abnormal rush of American workmen into Canada during the worst periods of unemployment in the Dominion.

It is devoutly to be hoped that the worst is past; but even if that proves to be so it will be the work of years for many of the workers' organizations to regain the positions lost. Wage reductions are still a greater feature than increases, while the cost of living steadily advances.

Even during the worst periods of depression, Boards of Trade and others financially interested have a persistent habit of loudly whistling to keep up their courage. Every sign or even *hope* of prosperity is cabled to the press of the Old Country, and any demand for labor is made to appear as a necessity for a further influx of that particular class; no reference being made to the ready supply. The annual demand for harvesters for a few weeks of rush is made an item of advertisement and "boost" by some agencies that ought to know better. Surely he ought to be convicted of a crime against his fellows who would seek to induce immigration on the strength of five or six weeks of harvest work, with a five months winter to follow immediately. From August to November of 1907, it will be seen that over 55,000 people arrived by ocean ports. What chance had thousands of these to tide over to the following spring, even then to compete with another incoming swarm of work-hungry people?

The fight of the workers against indiscriminate immigration is not finished. The societies in too many cases are still unrepentant, while for the transportation companies the word holds no meaning whatever. The Government policy of "bonus, and grants in aid" still exists, and every influence will be brought to bear with a view to the reduction and removal of the present restrictions. All of these interests should find us discreet and vigilant.

There are signs that new ventures in the shape of "Colonizing" schemes may be launched, but so far nothing of a practical nature has been adopted, even the much-advertised Salvation Army Colony on irrigated lands in Alberta is still a dream of the future.

### CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, we cannot do better than adopt some of the words of the Scottish Agricultural Commissioners who visited Canada in 1908, and who have issued a most exhaustive report. These Scotsmen came to see; and after seeing, unlike many previous "Commissioners" they returned to Britain to give their own opinions, and not those kept in stock for such travellers by the wealthy Corporations.—(Report of the Scottish Agricultural Commission, 1908, page 187):

"We should like to say with all the emphasis possible, that there are certain classes which Canada does not want, and for which she makes no provision. There is, first of all and pre-eminently, the "remittance men," men who live on remittances from long-suffering relatives at home. . . . There is another class, in every way respectable, composed of professional men and tradesmen, for whom there is no work in Canada meantime. The land is overflowing with them. If they are to emigrate at all, it ought to be to some other colony where the chances of success are greater.

"The men wanted in Canada are men with some knowledge of agriculture. There are many openings for such men, but they must be careful. Canada is a new country, and its people are full of hope. It is suffering from honest exaggeration. It is suffering, too, from a worse evil—from a superabundance of real estate agents and speculators in land. It is, however, so good a country that exaggeration can but harm it, and we, who have no land to sell, are doing it the best service we can when we tell the truth about it." With the addition of the